

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-06 NEA-09 SSO-00

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 1120

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UN UR

SUBJ: PEACEKEEPING: FIRST QUADRIpartite MEETING

1. AT FIRST FOUR-POWER MEETING ON PEACEKEEPING APRIL 7, USSR  
AMB. OVINNIKOV STATED SOVIET CONCERNS AND OBJECTIVES IN MOST  
EXPLICIT TERMS YET. HE MADE IT CLEAR ONCE AGAIN THAT USSR HAS  
ONE MAJOR INTEREST-TO DEVELOP A PROCEDURE FOR ENSURING  
PERMANENT MEMBER SUPERVISION OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. THIS  
COULD TAKE THE FORM OF AN ARTICLE 29 COMMITTEE (WITH RESPONSIBILI-  
TIES TO BE NEGOTIATED BY FOUR PERMANENT MEMBERS), OF A VETO  
BY CHALLENGE PROCEDURE, OR OF "SOME OTHER OPTION" ENSURING  
PERMANENT MEMBER CONTROL.

2. OVINNIKOV PROPOSED THAT THESE QUESTIONS OF PERMANENT MEMBER  
CONTROL BE CONSIDERED FIRST, BEFORE FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS ON  
GUIDELINES. IN FACT, HE INDICATED USSR HAD NO INTEREST IN AGREE-  
ING ON GENERAL GUIDELINES UNTIL UNDERSTANDING WAS REACHED ON  
"WAYS TO ENSURE ADEQUATE PERMANENT MEMBER SUPERVISION.  
HE SUGGESTED THAT THREE OR FOUR "ALTERNATIVE OPTIONS"

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MIGHT BE SET FORTH IN GUIDELINES, WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT

ONE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE CHOSEN WHEN A PEACEKEEPING OPERATION WAS LAUNCHED. OVINNIKOV INDICATED USSR COULD ALSO ACCEPT A CONFIDENTIAL AGREEMENT AMONG FOUR PERMANENT MEMBERS TO SAME EFFECT.

3. OVINNIKOV EMPHASIZED THREAT TO PERMANENT MEMBERS CONTROL OF PEACEKEEPING IF, IN ABSENCE PERMANENT MEMBERS' AGREEMENT, GA MAJORITY WERE TO MAKE PEACEKEEPING A GA AS OPPOSED TO SC RESPONSIBILITY. IN GLARE OF GA DEBATE ON THIS SUBJECT HE SUGGESTED SOVIETS, DESPITE THEIR CONCERN, WOULD HAVE TO SUPPORT MAJORITY TO SOME UNSPECIFIED EXTENT.

4. AMB. SCHAUFLE RESPONDED BY SAYING IT APPEARED THAT TWO THINGS WERE BEING DISCUSSED WHICH NEEDED TO BE KEPT DISTINCT. ONE WAS EXACTLY WHAT ROLE OF PERMANENT MEMBERS SHOULD BE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. THAT WAS MATTER OF IMPORTANCE TO SOVIETS AND INDEED ALL PERMANENT MEMBERS. HOWEVER, PERMANENT MEMBERS WERE ALSO CHARGED BY WORKING GROUP WITH MAKING PROGRESS ON GENERAL GUIDELINES. SCHAUFLE SAID HE THOUGHT WASHINGTON MIGHT NOT OBJECT TO WORKING ON BOTH QUESTIONS IN PARALLEL, BUT HE COULD NOT RECOMMEND DROPPING EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE GUIDELINES WHILE WORK PROCEEDED ON SOVIET CONCERNS.

5. UK MINISTER MURRAY AGREED WITH SCHAUFLE THAT, HOWEVER IMPORTANT SOVIET PREOCCUPATIONS, PERMANENT MEMBERS HAD SEPARATE RESPONSIBILITY TO CONTINUE WORK ON GUIDELINES. FRENCH COUNSELOR TOOK SAME POSITION. MEETING CONCLUDED WITH AGREEMENT TO MEET AGAIN AFTERNOON APRIL 10, AFTER GUIDANCE RECEIVED FROM CAPITALS, TO DECIDE WHETHER FURTHER QUADRIPARTITE MEETINGS WOULD BE USEFUL.

6. RECOMMENDATION AND COMMENT: MISSION RECOMMENDS FOUR-POWER TALKS BE SUSPENDED UNLESS SOVIETS AGREE IN PRINCIPLE TO NEGOTIATE ON WHOLE RANGE OF GUIDELINES IN PARALLEL WITH PROCEDURES FOR SC SUPERVISION. AT SAME TIME, SOVIETS WERE SUFFICIENTLY UNCLEAR IN THEIR PRESENTATION THAT WE WOULD LIKE FLEXIBILITY TO HOLD ONE OR TWO MORE FOUR-POWER MEETINGS TO SEE WHETHER ANY POSSIBILITY EXISTS FOR OPTIONAL ARTICLE 29 COMMITTEE OR ONE WITH WHOLLY ADVISORY FUNCTIONS. SUSPENSION OF QUADRIPARTITE TALKS COULD WELL MARK END OF ANY REAL

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POSSIBILITY OF CONCLUDING AGREED GUIDELINES. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE US INTEREST IN COMPLETING GUIDELINES IS SUCH THAT USSR SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO PLACE ITS PREOCCUPATIONS BEFORE CONCERNS OF OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS AND GREAT MAJORITY OF COUNTRIES SERVING ON PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE.

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